

Message Text

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21/14
ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /011 R

66630
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APPROVED BY: EUR: J. RENDAHL
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R 031751Z OCT 73
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO USMISSION OECD PARIS 0000

S E C R E T STATE 194504

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 194504 SENT ACTION ALL NATO CAPITALS
DUBLIN INFO TOKYO SEPT. 29 REPEATED EC BRUSSELS SEPT. 30:

QUOTE

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, US, GW
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S BILATERAL CONVERSATION WITH GERMAN
FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL

1. SECRETARY RECEIVED GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL IN NEW YORK SEPTEMBER 25 FOR APPROXIMATELY ONE HOUR. CONVERSATION FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS, INCLUDING US-EC AND NATO DECLARATIONS AND POSSIBILITY OF PRESIDENT'S TRIP. THERE WAS ALSO BRIEF DISCUSSION OF MBFR.
2. AFTER CONGRATULATING SECRETARY ON HIS UNGA SPEECH, SCHEEL NOTED THAT SECRETARY HAD NOT SPOKEN IN ANY DETAIL ABOUT EUROPE AND US-EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP; SCHEEL SPECU-
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LATED THAT OMISSION HAD BEEN DELIBERATE. SECRETARY SAID THIS HAD NOT BEEN DELIBERATE. HE EMPHASIZED THAT WE HAVE ALWAYS SUPPORTED THE CONCEPT OF EUROPEAN UNITY, WHICH HAS BEEN A KEY ELEMENT IN US POST-WAR POLICY, AND WE FAVOR THE

DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN IDENTITY. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE CERTAIN RESERVATIONS ABOUT WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE RECENT PAST FROM THE PROCEDURAL AS WELL AS SUBSTANTIVE POINT OF VIEW, THIS CONTINUES TO BE OUR POLICY.

3. SECRETARY WENT ON TO COMMENT ABOUT EC DRAFT DECLARATION IN TERMS SIMILAR TO THOSE USED IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH OTHER EC FOREIGN MINISTERS, NOTING THAT DOCUMENT HIGHLIGHTS EUROPEAN UNITY BUT CONTAINS VIRTUALLY NOTHING ABOUT THE TRANS-ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP. WE DO NOT OBJECT TO ANYTHING IN THE DOCUMENT, BUT, IN ITS PRESENT FORM, WE DO NOT FEEL IT REPRESENTS A MAJOR STEP FORWARD. THE SECRETARY POINTED TO DIFFICULTIES OF DEALING WITH EUROPE AS A BLOC AND STRESSED OUR DESIRE TO AVOID ADVERSARY-TYPE OF PROCEDURAL WRANGLING AND OUR INTEREST IN BEING INVOLVED IN FORMATIVE STAGE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT.

4. SCHEEL SAID HE SHARES SECRETARY'S VIEWS CONCERNING IMPORTANCE OF TRANS-ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP AND HE AGREED THAT ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP REQUIRES A NEW POLITICAL AND MORAL BASIS IN ORDER TO INSURE COOPERATION UNDER CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES FOR THE NEXT DECADES. SCHEEL SAID THAT THIS IS ALL THE MORE NECESSARY GIVEN THE PROCESS OF DETENTE AND THE PROGRESS MADE IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS. HE THOUGHT THAT EC HAD ATTEMPTED TO APPROACH PROBLEM IN POSITIVE WAY. HE OBSERVED, HOWEVER, THAT IT WAS VERY DIFFICULT TO ARRIVE AT POLITICAL DECISIONS IN THE EC WHEN REAL UNITY IN THE COMMUNITY DOES NOT EXIST. OVERALL, HE THOUGHT THE RESULTS SO FAR HAD BEEN POSITIVE AND HE THOUGHT COPENHAGEN MEETING, WHICH HAD AGREED ON CATALOGUE OF SUBJECTS FOR DIALOGUE WITH US AND ON OUTLINES OF DRAFT US-EC DECLARATION HAD EXCEEDED WHAT HE THOUGHT WOULD BE POSSIBLE. SCHEEL LOOKED FORWARD TO FURTHER DISCUSSION OF DRAFT DOCUMENT BY THE EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS AND US REPRESENTATIVES.

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5. SECRETARY AGREED THAT THIS WOULD BE USEFUL AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT FURTHER EXCHANGES COULD BE IN NATURE OF REAL CONSULTATION AND WOULD NOT INVOLVE DEALING WITH EC AS ONE UNIT. SECRETARY SAID WE WOULD ATTEND POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING IN SPIRIT OF GOOD WILL AND WOULD ADVANCE PROPOSALS INTENDED TO STRENGTHEN THE DRAFT DOCUMENT. HE FELT IT WAS IN OUR COMMON INTEREST THAT THERE SHOULD NOT BE VICTORS OR DEFEATED AS A RESULT OF WHOLE EXERCISE BUT RATHER A SENSE OF JOINT ACCOMPLISHMENT.

6. SECRETARY ALSO COMMENTED THAT HE RECOGNIZED UTILITY OF FRG EFFORTS TO BRING FRENCH ALONG TO AGREE WITH DRAFT DECLARATION AND THAT THIS HAD BEEN MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENT. ALTHOUGH, UNDER NORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES, WE WOULD HAVE

OBJECED TO LACK OF DIRECT BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH FRG DURING PERIOD FOLLOWING COPENHAGEN MEETING, WE UNDERSTAND THIS WAS SPECIAL SITUATION. HOWEVER, SECRETARY SAID WE WILL WISH TO KEEP BILATERAL CHANNELS OPEN IN THE FUTURE TO INSURE THAT CONSULTATIONS TAKE PLACE DURING FORMATIVE PERIOD OF POLICY-MAKING.

7. RE PROCEDURES FOR SIGNING EC AND NATO DECLARATIONS, SECRETARY SAID IT IS POSSIBLE THAT WE COULD ACCEPT SIGNATURE BY PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN OF EC COUNCIL OF EC DOCUMENT IF SUBSTANCE IS ADEQUATE. HOWEVER, HE MADE CLEAR PRESIDENT WOULD NOT SIGN NATO DECLARATION UNLESS OTHER HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ALSO SIGN. SCHEEL SAID HE THOUGHT FRENCH WERE MAIN PROBLEM REGARDING LATTER POINT AND URGED SECRETARY TO SPEAK FRANKLY WITH FRENCH ABOUT IT. SCHEEL FELT POMPIDOU WOULD NOT ATTEND HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, ALTHOUGH PRIME MINISTER MESSMER MIGHT COME. SECRETARY THOUGHT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN THIS SITUATION. SCHEEL RECOMMENDED THAT THIS QUESTION SHOULD BE HELD IN ABEYANCE FOR THE TIME BEING TO SEE HOW OTHER MATTERS PROGRESS.

8. SCHEEL ALLUDED TO PROSPECT THAT FRG WOULD ASSUME CHAIRMANSHIP OF EC COUNCIL IN JANUARY, WHICH MEANT THAT BRANDT WOULD BE IN POSITION RECEIVE PRESIDENT IN THIS CAPACITY. NEVERTHELESS, SCHEEL INDICATED THAT THIS WOULD CAUSE "PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS" FROM STANDPOINT OF FRENCH
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AND FRG WOULD FAVOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT THIS YEAR BEFORE FRG ASSUMES CHAIRMANSHIP.

9. SCHEEL ALSO FELT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO HAVE GOOD DECLARATIONS AND A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO EUROPE BEFORE THE FINAL STAGE OF CSCE, PARTICULARLY IF LATTER IS AT SUMMIT LEVEL.

10. SCHEEL RAISED QUESTION OF "CHAPEAU" TO COMPLETE TWO DECLARATIONS AND ASKED SECRETARY'S VIEWS. SECRETARY SAID THIS WAS IMPORTANT QUESTION, PARTICULARLY FOR JAPANESE. THEY CANNOT SIGN A NATO DECLARATION ON SECURITY MATTERS BUT ARE CONSIDERING THE POSSIBILITY OF SIGNING THE US-EC DECLARATION. HOWEVER, IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER THIS WOULD BE APPROPRIATE, PARTICULARLY SINCE EC DOCUMENT GIVES SO MUCH EMPHASIS TO EUROPEAN UNITY AND THE US-EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP. SECRETARY FELT EASIEST WAY TO MEET JAPANESE CONCERNS MIGHT BE TO HAVE A CHAPEAU DOCUMENT WHICH COULD BE GENERAL IN NATURE. SECRETARY NOTED THAT CANADA HAS SOMEWHAT SIMILAR CONCERNS TO JAPAN AND THESE, ALSO, MIGHT BEST BE HANDLED BY AN UMBRELLA-TYPE STATEMENT. SCHEEL NOTED THAT HE WOULD BE VISITING OTTAWA FOR TALKS WITH CANADIANS IN NEXT FEW

DAYS AND THEN WOULD BE CONSULTING WITH JAPANESE IN BONN.
FOLLOWING THESE TALKS, HE WOULD HAVE CLEARER IDEA OF
QUESTIONS INVOLVED.

11. ON MBFR SCHEEL SAID HE FELT WE SHOULD TRY TO FIND
LINK BETWEEN PHASE I AND II OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS,
AIMING AT COMMON CEILING BY PHASE II. SECRETARY
AGREED. HE COMMENTED THAT, WHATEVER OUR OPENING POSITION
MIGHT BE, IT IS CERTAIN THAT IT WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED
AND WILL REQUIRE SOME MODIFICATION. THEREFORE, WE CANNOT
REGARD OUR INITIAL POSITION AS SOMETHING LIKE THE TEN
COMMANDMENTS OR THAT ANY CHANGES IN OPENING POSITION ARE
TREASONABLE. SECRETARY'S FEELING IS THAT SOVIETS WILL
PROPOSE EQUAL PERCENTAGE CUTS AS INITIAL STEP; THIS MIGHT
BE ACCEPTABLE, PROVIDED WE COULD GO TO COMMON CEILING
IN SECOND PHASE. SCHEEL SAID THIS VIEW ALSO COINCIDES
WITH THE VIEWS OF FRG MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND SECRETARY
SAID HE SHARED THIS APPROACH.

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12. SECRETARY EXPRESSED HOPE THAT HE AND SCHEEL COULD
GET TOGETHER, IF POSSIBLE IN LONDON, WHEN SECRETARY GOES
TO UK FOR SPEECH OCTOBER 15. SCHEEL THOUGHT THIS WOULD
BE POSSIBLE AND IT WAS AGREED THAT BOTH WOULD BE IN
TOUCH ABOUT SCHEDULING DETAILS. KISSINGER

UNQUOTE. RUSH

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 11 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: willialc
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE194504
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/RPE: W.L. DUTTON
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: P750014-0042
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731065/abqceiud.tel
Line Count: 194
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: n/a
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: willialc
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <22-Aug-2001 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <20-Nov-2001 by willialc>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SECRETARY'S BILATERAL CONVERSATION WITH GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL
TAGS: PFOR, GE, US, (SCHEEL)
To: n/a INFO OECD PARIS
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005